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Introduction to The Nirukta

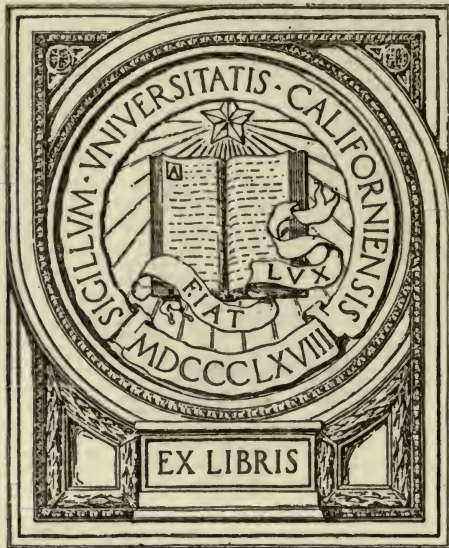


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Introduction to the Nirukta
and the Literature
related to it

WITH A TREATISE ON

"The Elements of the Indian Accent"

BY

RUDOLPH ROTH

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Bombay.*

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PREFATORY NOTE.

FOR many years Yāska's Nirukta has been regularly prescribed by the University of Bombay as a text-book for its examination in Sanskrit for the degree of M.A.

In order to render Roth's valuable Introduction to this work accessible to advanced students of Sanskrit in Wilson College I prepared long ago a translation of this Introduction which in manuscript form did service to a succession of College students some of whom have since become well known as Sanskrit scholars.

In the hope that it may benefit a wider circle this manuscript translation has after careful revision been handed to the University for publication.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered by Professor Mackenzie of Wilson College who carried out the greater part of the proof-reading during my absence from Bombay.

D. MACKICHAN.

MAHA'BALESHWAR,

2nd June 1919.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NIRUKTA

Learned tradition in India ascribes the two treatises united in this publication* to Yāska, whose name occupies as high a place in the history of the interpretation of the sacred writings of the Hindus as Pāṇini's does in the history of Grammar. So far as the sources are known to me, this tradition cannot, it is true, be traced very far back, but in view of the unanimity of the testimonies, we have as little ground to call this tradition in question, as that concerning the author of the celebrated grammatical aphorisms. Both teachers, Yāska and Pāṇini, appear on the stage separated by so great an interval from the strictly learned period of Indian literature, which begins with the decline and expulsion of Buddhism, that they are recognized unconditionally by these later arrangers and compilers of the learning of a bygone age, as authoritative.

With regard to Pāṇini, we are not entirely without information; even the fable-making of the 12th century remembers him; but in the case of Yāska we are limited almost to his bare name. In the Kāṇḍānukrama to the Taittiriya Saṁhitā (v. 3 E. Ind. H. 965) he is called Paṅgi, descendant of Pinga, and occupies a place in the line of those to whom the handing down and the editing of that Vedic collection are traced. Vaiśāmpāyana is said to have delivered it to Yāska and he to Tittiri, after whom it is named, Tittiri to Ukha, and Ukha to Atreya. Now a Pinga is mentioned in the genealogical table at the close of the Śrauta Sūtras of Aśvalāyana (XII. 12) in connection with the family of Angirasa, to which accordingly Yāska would belong as Pāṇini to the family of Kāśyapa through his ancestor Devala. On the other hand, in the same passage (c. 10), there stands in the Bhṛgu family, Yaska, as the descendant of whom Yāska was designated by this name. Nothing more can be gathered from the occurrence of the name in the unintelligible genealogies of the Brhad Āraṇyaka II, 6, IV, 6.

If we adhere to the view that Yāska was a descendant of Pinga, he is thus connected with a family which has a place amongst the learned Brahmanical lines. One from amongst the members of this family, Madhuka by name, is mentioned in the Brh. Āraṇy., VI, 3, 8, 9 amongst the teachers of a

* This refers to the two treatises, Naighaṇṭukāṇḍam and Daivataṇḍam, to which this is an introduction. Tr.

certain sacrificial ceremony. The Paingya and Mahāpaingya (Āśvalghya sūtr. III, 4 ; cf. *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda*, p. 27), are writings which undoubtedly taught Vedic liturgy, as may be inferred from a remark of the Commentators on Pāṇini, IV, 3, 105, पैङ्गी कल्पः and a reference to the Paingya in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 11), according to which a definite fast was prescribed by the Paingya for the day before the full moon, and by the Kauṣītaka for the day of the full moon itself. The passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is, it is true, a later interpolation—Sāyaṇa's Commentary passes over that entire sub-section, and it is not the practice of the Brāhmaṇa to refer to other writings—still, this should not prevent us from holding that such a work existed. This will no doubt one day be brought to light with many other works of the same class when MSS in India are systematically collected, no longer exclusively in the region of the Ganges, but throughout a wider area, especially amongst the Marāṭhās. The book was well known as late as the year 700 of our era, as is clear from a quotation in Śaṅkara's commentary on the Śāṅkara Sūtras III, 3, 24, (p. 290 of the edition of Lallūlāśarma Kavi, अस्ति ताण्डिनां पैङ्गिनां च रहस्यब्राह्मणे पुरुषविद्या, etc.)

The authorship of no other works beyond the Naighaṇṭuka and Nirukta has been attributed to Yāska. Colebrooke (*Misc., Essays*, II, p. 64) has, it is true, found a reference to him in Pingala's Sūtras on Metre, and one might infer, seeing that no remarks occur in the Nirukta on the subject of metre, if we do not reckon as such the derivations of the names of the metres in the seventh book, that Yāska had composed a work on Prosody which has been lost to us.

This quotation is without doubt, no other than that which occurs in the small outlines of Prosody called Chandas (*vide* 5, E. Ind. H. 1378. न्यङ्कुसारिणी द्वितीयः। स्कन्धोग्रीवी कौष्टुकेः। उरोबृहती यास्कस्य) “Nyankusārīṇī (the name of a metre of the Br̥hatī type) when the second Pāda (consists of 12 syllables), Krauṣṭuki gives it the name Skandhogrivi, Yāska the name Urobr̥hatī.” This name occurs nowhere in the Naighaṇṭuka or Nirukta. We should then have to assume, for the sake of a single reference, the existence of a

work by Yāska, which, with the exception of this trifling fragment, has disappeared leaving no trace behind, for there is no allusion to it in any other passage. This, in my opinion, in the case of a name so highly placed as that of this ancient exegete, and in a world of writings so interlaced by references of every kind as Indian literature is, would be an assumption so startling that I must take the liberty of hazarding the conjecture that we have here an ancient error either of the MSS or of the author of the Chandas and the Pingala Sūtras. The error possibly arose in this way, that the universally known name of Yāska had crept into the place of an older and less familiar name. Now we have the evidence of an older and more respectable authority than the Chandas, viz., the first Prātiśākhya, that an earlier teacher named Vaiyāska taught or wrote on the subject of Prosody. It is stated in the section of the Prātiśākhya, which treats of metre :—

न दाशतय्येकपदाका चिदस्तीति वैयास्कः ।

अन्यत्र वैमद्याः सैका दशिनी मुखतो विराद् ॥

“According to Vaiyāska, there is in the Samhitā of the Rig Veda, no other *Ekaṣadā* (sc. *rc.*, i.e., no strophe consisting of only one member) except that which stands at the beginning of the hymns of Vimada, (X. 2, 4, 1, cf. 9, 1.) and this is the ten syllabled Virāj.” Other teachers on the contrary assume the existence of several such single lines.

In support of the conjecture. that in the passage of the Chandas above referred to, Vaiyāska should have been quoted, instead of Yāska, there is in addition the circumstance that the Prātiśākhya itself knows these three names for the metre in question. XVI, 7.).

पुरस्ताद्बृहती नाम प्रथमे द्वादशाक्षरे ।

उपरिष्ठाद्बृहत्यन्ते* द्वितीये न्यङ्कुसारिणी ॥

स्कन्धेऽग्री व्युरोबृहती त्रेभैतां प्रतिजानते ।

त्रयो द्वादशका यस्याः साहोर्ध्वबृहती विराद् ॥

Now this book is, from all indications, older than Yāska, and thus could not know the name Urobr̥hati, if Yāska had been really the first to introduce it.

* We should read probably *antye*.

We have accordingly, in the present state of our knowledge of Indian literature, no adequate justification for ransacking the mass of writings that have come down to us for a work on Prosody by our author, or indeed to assume that it ever existed.

Moreover, of the two remaining books which stand unquestioned in Indian literary history as evidences of Yāska's learning, his authorship of one, *Nighaṇṭu*, as it is generally called, or more correctly, the *Nighaṇṭu* in the plural, (निघण्टवः *the joined-together, strung-together words*)¹, must be denied and the only wonder is that this was not sooner recognised. This might be inferred from the whole arrangement of his commentary, the Nirukta, in which everything points to his having had before him a collection of words handed down by tradition. Besides this might be quoted the evidence of the Commentator on the Nirukta who, for example, at the very beginning of the Nirukta says that the collection of *Nighaṇṭavas* which Yāska there calls *Samāmnāya*, *Enumeration*, had been prepared by the ancient sacred teachers, by Ṛṣis, for the better understanding of the Vedic hymns. But we have Yāska's own quite definite assertion in Nirukta I, 20, where he says with reference to the origin of the Vedic books, that the wise men of antiquity, who themselves had no need of instruction in order to right conduct, have handed down by teaching (by oral instruction) the hymns to later generations which stood in need of such teaching. Now, these later generations whose power of comprehending was continuously diminishing, have, for the easier understanding of what was handed down, imparted it in teaching, and thus in addition to the Veda and helps to the Veda, the Vedāngas, have composed also *this book* (the *Nighaṇṭavas*) in which are enumerated the roots for an action, the nouns for expressing an idea (Ngh. I, II, III), likewise words which have several significations (IV), and finally the names of the Gods (V).

* Compare the signification of the root घट्, घण्ट् in Westergaard, and the derived sense of the secondary form *Naighaṇṭuka* when it stands in Nir. I, 20, II, 24, V, 12, XI, 4, in opposition to *Pradhāna*. It signifies accordingly, in the language of liturgy, only a secondary attached invocation of an object, properly a naming or casual mention of it as opposed to the real principal invocation, which constitutes the purpose of a hymn. The list in question, is called in the MSS *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nighaṇṭa*, *Nighaṇṭuka*, *Naighaṇṭuka*, *Nirghaṇṭa*. I name it, in accordance with the distribution already found in Nir. I, 20, into *Naighaṇṭakāni* (Ngh. I—III), *Naigamāni* (IV), *Daivatam* (V), *a parte potiori*, *Naighaṇṭuka* and Nir I—VI *Naigama*, a nomenclature which is found also in the MSS.

Thus Yāska in this passage ascribes the composition of the small collection of Vedic words and names, which forms the basis of his explanation, quite indefinitely to an old tradition; a tradition, it is true, that does not come to us from that primeval age, in which faith and doctrine lived and flourished without artificial aids, but still from the generations immediately succeeding it, which strove by means of prescribed rule and written definition to preserve the possession which they had inherited. Further, he places the Naighaṇṭuka in a line with the Vedas and Vedāngas. By the composition of the Vedas, which Yāska here assigns to the second period of Indian history, cannot be intended the production of the materials of which they are composed. For to Yāska according to this passage, as in India at all times, the hymns (*mantra*) which have been handed down by the Ṛṣis to their descendants, stood as the nucleus or kernel of the whole. These could therefore be only arranged and put into literary form by later authors. We find here a reminiscence of the phenomenon of a relatively late reduction to fixed form of the intellectual works of antiquity by means of writing, a phenomenon the significance of which for the history of Indian literature has not yet been sufficiently kept in mind, and is perhaps more important in this case than in the case of any other literature, since in India, the mass of such traditional matter must, according to all indications, have been very considerable.

Whether the composition of the *Vedāngas*, literally "members of the Veda", the portions supplementary to the collection of the sacred scriptures, is to be understood in the same sense, cannot be deduced from the words of Yāska. But as it is improbable that he traces back the authorship of the Naighaṇṭuka, a mere collection of words attached to the hymns, to the authors of the hymns, the Ṛṣis themselves, and ascribes to later writers only the arrangement of them, what he has said regarding the Vedāngas is to be understood of real authorship.

But which books does Yāska designate by the name of Vedāngas? The naming of them in a book which like the Nirukta belongs without dispute to the oldest portions of this literature is of such importance that a more minute examination of this point cannot be without advantage.

If we are willing to believe the Indian literary historians, all the Vedāṅgas have come down to us. They are the following six :—The *Nirukta*, the eight books of Grammatical aphorisms by Pāṇini, the *Śikṣā*, the *Chandas*, the *Jyotiṣa*, and the *Kalpa*.

The commentator Durga also interprets the passage before us as referring to these books.

1. So far as the *Nirukta* is concerned, there is no need of further adjustment ; that its author should represent the book which he was just on the point of writing as having been composed by his ancestors, would be outside the limit of what is permissible even in India. In that case, the place of the *Nirukta*, "the Commentary", among the Vedāṅgas which Yāska recognises, would be vacant or would be filled by some other work unknown to us or finally occupied only by the *Naighaṇṭuka*.

2. A comparison of Grammar as we find it in Yāska's work with the condition of that science in Pāṇini's Aphorisms, must be reserved for a later section ; but it cannot remain hidden even from a superficial view that Yāska, in comparison with Pāṇini, belongs to a much less advanced stage of grammatical culture. It is thus, for this reason alone, not probable that the latter is the older. But it is even more improbable that Pāṇini's work in any case could have been regarded in more ancient times as a Vedāṅga, a help to the Veda. It could have attained to that position only after it had obtained a wide circulation on account of its general scientific value, after it had become the standard guide in this department of knowledge, and as everything excellent amongst the Indians passes for sacred, had begun to be regarded as inspired.

Only by reason of this sacredness could it have been assigned a place amongst the Vedāṅgas, for Pāṇini's rules have neither an exclusive, nor even a principal reference to the Vedic writings ; the Vedic usage appears in them rather as the exception, the profane speech as the rule. Accordingly, Pāṇini's eight books could not, at any rate by Yāska, have been reckoned as belonging to that class of writings.

3. *Śikṣā* signifies, according to the general older use of the word, the doctrine of the correct recitation of the

sacred hymns and utterances. This was the first "doctrine", as the word indicates, the germinant seed of Brahmanical learning. The relative chapters of the works on Vedic grammar (*e.g.* 2 *Prātiśākyā* I, 28) were then later so named and finally a separate treatise received this designation. The Indians regard as the *Vedāṅga* strictly so called a small book containing only 60 *Ślokas*, which is ascribed to Pāṇini, and which according to Indian custom sings the manifold praises of this grammarian, and not only, as is usually the case, in the introductory and concluding verses, but also in the midst of the whole context (*e.g.*, *Sloka* 40 *E. Ind. H.* 1981).

But even if this passage, another in which the *Vedāṅgas* are represented as the members of the *Veda*, the *Chandas* as the feet, the *Kalpa* as the hands, etc., and also a number of similar stumbling blocks, could be got rid of by the assumption that they are interpolations, still it would be found, on an exact consideration of the small portion of the booklet that would then remain, that it is nothing else than a tolerably cursory and worthless compilation from older books, the rules of which have here been given in metrical form. Some couplets are manifestly borrowed from one of the *Prātiśākyas*. And the whole representation is so meagre and unsatisfactory, that it is impossible to accept the view that it can ever have served as an outline of this science which was so important for Brahmanical learning.

This writing is probably at least more than 500 years old, since *Durga*, the Commentator on the *Nirukta*, who is older than *Sāyana*, is acquainted with it, and regards it as a *Vedāṅga*. It appears however to have begun, as he knew it, with that verse which is the sixth in the present arrangement of the text.

4. *Chandas* is the name given to a brief outline of *Metre* in 18 small sections. It is, as I conjecture, either an extract from the *Sūtras* of *Pingala*, to whom also the *Chandas* has been ascribed, or these are an expansion of the *Chandas*. But no one will regard as ancient a book in which all the measures of the latest poetry, even the most artificial and unnatural, are treated of.

5. Regarding the actual contents of the *Jyotiṣa*,—only a few couplets with reference to the division of the year, according to the course of the constellations and the feasts,—it is impossible to form a judgment without a more exact knowledge of Indian astronomy. These verses are known to a wider circle through the calculation which Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. I. 108) has based on the data with respect to the equinoctial points contained in them. These data agree with the position of those points in the 14th century before our era. In this connection we must not, however, forget that the correctness of this calculation depends on the identification of unknown names in these verses, with better known and still current designations of the stars and constellations, and in the second place on the exact location of them in the heaven of the fixed stars. For the one as for the other, complete certainty cannot be claimed, and I cannot for the present share the unbounded confidence which has been placed even in the most recent times in this calculation.

Quite distinct moreover from this question, is the other, with reference to the *time of composition* of the *Jyotiṣa*, which must look in the same direction for its solution.

6. No single book is wont to be named as the *Kalpa*;¹ the liturgical writings generally would belong to this class. and this furnishes a proof for one of the two conclusions which I deduce from the preceding exposition.

In the first place, in my opinion, the older Indian literature, under which, for want of a more exact designation I include the writings of Yāska and Pāṇini, who in any case are not separated by any considerable interval of time, knew nothing of the Vedāngas now so called, and in the second place it understood by Vedāngas in general not what the later period understands. The entire distribution and arrangement of the Vedāngas, *their system*, rests on the following deduction expounded for example by Durga in his Introduction to the Nirukta, which starts from ritual. A hymn recited at a sacrifice, that is not correctly recited and intoned, is not only inefficacious, but injurious to the sacrificer. There

* Sāyana, for example, says in the introduction to his Commentary on the Rigveda, —“By Kalpa is understood the Sūtras of Aśvalāyana, Apastamba, Baudhāyana, etc. etc.” (E. I. H. 2133, p. 15b).

is, therefore, need of special guidance in regard to this : this is the *Śikṣā*.¹

It is equally fatal if one does not know the prosody of the hymns, hence the *Chandas* which gives the doctrine of this subject. One must know how correctly to apply the hymns, thus correctly uttered and scanned in accordance with these instructions, each to its respective sacrifice, their *Viniyoga* must be accurately known ; which is taught by the *Kalpa*. The sacrifices and ceremonies, however, must take place at the times appointed by the sacred tradition, (*śruti*) ; the *Jyotiṣa* is therefore necessary. Further, not only for the understanding, but also for the correct application of certain sacrificial formulae there was need of a knowledge, *e.g.* of the inflections of the noun (for an example see *Āśvalāyana's Śrauta S. I, 6*) and the like, such as grammar teaches and therefore *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar) appears amongst the *Vedāṅgas*. Finally, the *Nirukta* comes last, the interpretation ; according to *Durga*—who in this is either more enlightened than the majority of his contemporaries or is only giving a prominent place to the book which he is editing—the highest of the *Vedāṅgas*, because it teaches us to understand the meaning of the hymns, the meaning being the essential thing (*pradhāna*) and the word sound the unessential (*guṇa*), which latter the majority of the other *Vedāṅgas* treat of.

This is the system which lies at the foundation of the sub-division of the Vedic sciences. A series of helps to the *Veda* arranged according to this system was wanted ; each individual branch of knowledge must be represented by a separate work ; thus a later age took hold of and collected together these books which we were hitherto accustomed to

¹ The verse referring to this, quoted in later writings *ad nauseam*, which also occurs in *Śikṣā 52* is as follows :—

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वागवज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

“ A hymn that is wrongly pronounced in utterance or intonation is applied in vain and does not say what it ought to say. His own word becomes to the sacrificer a thunderbolt which destroys him if he, for example, falsely intones *indraśatru*. *Indraśatru* with the accent on the first syllable is a possessive compound and means ‘He who has Indra as his overpowerer’ (according to Indian interpretation, *e.g.*, *Nir. II, 16*) ; As paroxytone it would mean ‘the overpowerer of Indra’ and thus the evil demon would be praised as the conqueror of the god Indra.”

designate by the common name of the *Vedāngas*. In honour of its borrowed name this whole collection was pushed back into a high antiquity ; the existence of the Vedāngas was indeed attested by the earliest works in the literature and only writings which had been consecrated by a great antiquity could bear such a name. And thus here also the desire to sub-divide, to arrange in series and to derive one work from another, which runs through the whole of Indian literature, got the better of historical truth. So much at least is established, viz., *that these books could not be those to which Yāska refers in the passage in question under the title of the Vedāngas*. By what other writings shall we be able to fill the gap ? It is indeed not possible to give a satisfactory answer to this question from the notices contained in the Nirukta which is so sparing in its words, but what may be conjectured may here find a place as a contribution to future investigations. It is to be hoped that, with the enthusiasm that is manifesting itself everywhere for research in the field of the ancient literature of India, we shall soon become perfectly certain regarding many things which now we can scarcely discern in their outlines ; for it would be a disgrace to the criticism and insight of this century that reads and will read the rock-inscriptions of the Persian Kings and the books of Zoroaster, if it should not succeed in reading with certainty the intellectual history of that people in this huge mass of literature.

First and foremost we have no justification for taking the conception of the Vedāngas as we find it in Yāska exactly in the sense in which it has been taken by a later age. This conception is in its very nature a varying one ; for another period other generally accepted *Helps* to the Vedas could have been in existence. The contents of the Vedāngas must, of course, at all periods have been essentially that which is required by the above reasoning ; but it is not necessary that in particular individual writings these should therefore have been subdivided exactly in this manner ; we do not require to assume that Yāska was acquainted with a separate book on Vedic metre, another on the doctrine of syllables, a third on Ritual, etc., etc., all which he included under the title of Vedāngas. On the contrary it would quite suffice to be able to point

out writings which stood generally in this auxiliary relation to the Vedas and enjoyed at the same time the authority of ancient sacred tradition. The question thus is whether the Nirukta is a more exact name for books of this kind.

In another section the literature which the Nirukta pre-supposes will be treated of more thoroughly. The following are the points which belong to this place.

Express mention of books besides the hymn collection which we call the *Samhitā* of the Rigveda and the Brāhmaṇas, cited without more precise designation, is found only in Nir. I, 17 and X, 5. In the latter passage the *Kāṭhaka* and *Hāridravika* are quoted as authorities for the derivation of the name *Rudra*. That by the former we are not to understand the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad is shewn by the extract itself which is not to be found in the Upaniṣad. On the other hand it appears from the list of contents (*Kāṇḍānukramanikā*) of the Taittirīya Samhitā (v. 7. E. Ind. H. No. 965) that 8 books ascribed to Kaṭha, perhaps only portions of a complete work, were reckoned as belonging to the Collection thus named and the Commentary on the passage says expressly: *Kāṭhakāny aṣṭau*. That a larger body of writings of this name than the two sections, which Mr. L. Poley has edited along with other Upaniṣads, was known, is further clear from the citations in Śaṅkara's Commentary on the Śāriraka Sūtras which are only partially reproduced in that edition.

If we are finally to believe the statement which is made in a commentary on Pāraskara's Gr̥hya Sūtras, taken probably from a Purāṇa, regarding the Śākhā of the Taittirīya Collection, the Kaṭha writings must have formed a considerable part of that Collection. Among the 12 Śākhā of the Taittirīya Samhitā, those of the Kaṭha, Prāchya-Kaṭha and Kapiṣṭha-Kaṭha are named. (E. Ind. H. No. 912 f. 5, b.) According to a communication of Dr. Weber a very extensive book quite in the style of the Taittirīya Samhitā is actually found in Chambers' Collection (No. 40) under the title *Kāṭhaka* with the more specific designation *charaka-śākhāyām*, from which it would appear to be a subdivision of the literature of the *charaka* which are themselves reckoned amongst those 12 Śākhā. (Cf.

further Pāṇ. IV. 3, 107, VII. 4, 38, the Vārtikas to IV, 3, 120 and many other places in the Commentary).

With respect to the *Hāridravika*, up till now we have still more scanty sources of information. I have been able to find no book of this name in the Collection of the East India Company and the solitary notice regarding it which I have come across is that which occurs in the passage of the Commentary on the Gṛhya Sūtras by Pāraskara in the passage referred to, in which the *Hāridraveyas* are mentioned as one of the seven subdivisions of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā*; and with this agrees the statement of Durga on this Nirukta passage: *Hāridravo nāma Maitrāyaṇīyānām śākhābheda*. The Śākhā of the Maitrāyaṇīya itself is, however, reckoned among the 12 which belong to the Taittirīya Collection. In the Commentary on Pāṇini IV, 3, 104 Haridru is named as one of the four pupils of Kalāpi.

So far as the first of these two writings is concerned, the *Kāthaka*, there can scarcely be any doubt that it belongs to the class of writings which are called *Kalpa-books* with reference to the sacred rite.

The contents of the Berlin MS already mentioned, which set forth the sacrificial acts in their order, establish this. I should be inclined to accept this with reference to the *Hāridravika* mentioned in the same line with it on the ground of the manner of the reference alone.

The only other family of writings which could be thought of in this connection, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and besides these perhaps some of the more ancient Upaniṣads, are regularly referred to in the Nirukta without any name-designation with the words *iti brāhmaṇam* "so says a Brāhmaṇa" or *iti vijnāyate* "so it runs". Here no name was needed, for the Brāhmaṇas were parts of the revelation; the Kalpa books, however, have human authors although they participate to a certain degree in the authority of the sacred writings; in a word, they are *Vedāṅga*, not *Veda*; and there is nothing to hinder us from recognising in the two writings referred to such works as Yāska might have been able to reckon among the Vedāṅgas.

In order that this relation of the *Kalpa* to the *Brāhmaṇas*, and more particularly the nature of the latter, regarding which information has nowhere yet been furnished,

should be more precisely defined, and to avoid the necessity of reverting to the matter at scattered points in the discussion I interpolate at this point a full and consecutive treatment of that subject.

The Brāhmaṇas.

The distinction between the subject-matter of the Brāhmaṇas and that of the Kalpa-books might appear, if one judged only from isolated passages, to be very small and uncertain, although it cannot be denied that, at the first glance, the two families of writings stand well apart in respect of position and estimation in the whole body of religious books. The distinction is nevertheless in reality a very essential one. Also while both deal with worship in the most extended sense of the term, this worship is the subject of exposition in the Brāhmaṇas in an entirely different sense from that in which it is treated of in a Kalpa-book. The latter aims at exhibiting the entire course of the sacred acts which are valid in the department of divine worship concerned. It is exactly laid down, *e. g.*, which among the priests present during the performance of a rite has to take part at each turn in the religious function. This point is most essential for the Indian sacrificial observances. The number of names under which we see the priests appearing is so great that one cannot rid oneself of the idea that the same person may have received different designations corresponding to the particular individual function in the course of the ceremony. It is further prescribed which hymns and invocations are to be employed and how they are to be uttered. The strophes themselves are however as a rule indicated only by their initial words and presuppose the existence of other collections in which they must have been arranged according to the order of their use in the religious service; and it will not cost much trouble, if such are sought for, really to find collections of this kind. Finally the time, the place, the forms of the liturgical uses, all exercises that must precede or follow them, are indicated. The books of the Kalpa are, in a word, complete rituals which have no other purpose than to lay down the whole course of the religious act with all the exactness that is required for what is done in the presence of the gods and in their honour.

The purpose of a Brāhmaṇa is tolerably far removed from this. As the name already indicates, its subject is the *brahma*, that which is *sacred in the act*, not the act itself. In the ceremony the sacred thing, the thought of the divine, lies concealed; it has been invested with a sensible form which must remain an enigma to the man to whom that thought is strange. Only he can interpret the meaning of the symbol who knows the divinity, its manifestation and its relation to mankind. It is the function of the Brāhmaṇa to give this interpretation, it aims at unfolding the kernel of theological wisdom which the manner of worship inherited from their ancestors conceals. Hence the mysterious, brief, often obscure style of the discourse which we find in these books. They are probably the most ancient prose which has been preserved for us in Indian literature.

An example of these symbolical interpretations may be given here from the beginning of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—

In the introduction to certain sacrifices clarified butter on *eleven* plates is offered to *Agni* and *Viṣṇu*. To them preferentially, explains the Brāhmaṇa, because they envelop the whole world of the gods, Agni as the lowest (the fire of the hearth and altar), Viṣṇu as the uppermost (the sun in the height of the midday heaven); thus an offering is made in them to all the gods. Eleven plates are brought, although there are only two of the gods; Agni has to claim eight of them, for the form of verse sacred to Agni, the *gāyatrī*, is of eight syllables; three belong to Viṣṇu, for in three strides (through the three stages of rising, attaining the meridian and setting) Viṣṇu passes across the heavens.

Such interpretations may just as often be the inventions of a religious philosophy which delights in daring parallels and bold exegesis, which here meets us in its oldest form, as real reminiscences of the origins of the liturgy in which, in the case of a people like that of India, we would have good ground to expect subtle and suggestive references. These books will always remain our most valuable sources for a knowledge of the beginnings of reflection on the divine, sources from which at the same time we derive the most varied instruction regarding the ideas on which not only the whole system of worship, but also the social and

hierarchical organization of India, is reared. In illustration of this, I will point only to the explanations which can be obtained from the 7th and 8th book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regarding the position of the castes and the royal and priestly dignity. The Brāhmaṇas are—and from this their significance will be most clearly seen—*the dogmatic of the Brahmans*—not a scientifically arranged system of doctrinal propositions, but a collection of dogmas as they arise out of religious practice. They are not written in order to be a complete exposition and establishment of the faith, but they have become indispensable to it, because they were intended to be a general explanation and foundation of the usages of the worship.

There can be no mistaking the fact that the Brāhmaṇas rest on a previously existing abundantly subdivided and highly developed service of the gods. The further the practice of sacred usages has advanced, the less clear will their significance become to the consciousness of those who practise them; with the central part of the action which, in its original form, was perfectly clear and well understood, a series of subordinate acts will gradually be associated which, the more they assume an individual separate form, will stand in a looser relation to the fundamental thought; the form as it becomes more independent loses its symbolical character. Indian worship had reached such a stage when religious reflection took possession of it in the Brāhmaṇas.

Here, as in all other religious forms of antiquity, it holds good that it is not dogma and reflection upon dogma which produces worship, but that worship, although itself the product of the undivided power of the spirit laid hold of by an idea of the divine and made subservient to it, in its turn becomes the mother of a more developed and more exactly defined theology. This is the relation of the theology of the Brāhmaṇas to practical worship. The Brāhmaṇa does not appeal to the utterances of the sacred hymns as its first and immediate source, it rests rather on the act of worship and on the earlier interpretation of the act. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, for example, from which I extract the details, not only appeals to authorities to whom written compositions have nowhere been ascribed — a Ṛṣi,

Śrauta, VII 1; Saujāta, son of Arāḥa, VII 22; Rāma, son of Mṛgū, VII 34; Maitreya, son of Kuṣāru, VIII 38, and others—or to similar sacrificial proceedings (*cf.* the passage given by Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 38 ff); but also the entire form of its representation bases itself upon a tradition derived from earlier usage. Its phrase for expressing this, a phrase which recurs regularly at the commencement of each proposition and which has sunk almost to the level of a mere connecting formula, is *tadā* 'hus, "further it is said", or *atho khalv āhus* "they say, namely, further"; and frequently diversity of opinion is indicated by the words—"so do or say the one class, others otherwise". I have nowhere come across the citation of a more ancient writing.

When all this is taken together it would seem to follow with tolerable certainty that the Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage of religious development in India in which the Brahmanic faith stands in full blossom. The conceptions of the gods and the sacred customs which we see in the hymns of the Rīgveda, passing out of a simple and undefined form into fixed and manifold forms, have spread themselves over the entire life of the people and have become, in the hands of the priests, an all-overshadowing power. Every indication points indeed to the fact that this development, although it was diffused over a great and still intellectually mighty people, had thus far moved along one path and that probably the union of Brahmanical families and schools linked together by a common calling and interest, maintained perhaps also with power and shrewdness by individual leaders, had brought about this unanimity; but the more extensive the realm of this form of faith and the more numerous its followers, the more urgent must also the danger have appeared that this faith might be disturbed or fall to pieces. Our labours in this region have not yet gone beyond the mere outlines; we are not yet fortunate enough to be able to examine and criticise the individual parts of the picture that scarcely shews itself from out of the mist; it would, however, be against all analogy if behind the hitherto assured diversities in subordinate liturgical points and grammatical interpretation of the sacred writings, oppositions between schools or provinces which were of deep significance for the religious life, did not disclose themselves.

However this may be, the Brahmanical theology presents itself in the above class of writings, so far as we can judge, with an assured unanimity which must have exercised a lasting influence upon succeeding times. In these Scriptures of course nothing in itself new may have been taught. What had been perhaps long ago elaborated in the Schools, of the long existence of which there can be scarcely any doubt (*cf.* with reference to this "Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda"), appears here for the first time in written form. But thus for the first time it received a sure foundation. The Cultus now explained by means of the theoretical propositions of the faith was no longer an accidental thing, changeable at will, but every single part of it was a copy of eternal truths, and dogma itself was delivered from the fluctuations of individual opinion by this settled form of religious usages, the kernel of which the initiated found in this dogmatic system.

This high significance for the religious history of India must, I think, be attributed to the Brāhmaṇas. The writings of the *Kalpa* belong to another and later stage. It seems indeed to involve a contradiction in thought that books relating to the external form of ritual should be later than the religious-philosophical interpretation of these forms. But we must not overlook the fact that literature, especially the most ancient, follows not the order of scientific thinking, but the path of practical necessity, and this is what meets us here. A theology, whatever might be its scientific value, which should include at the same time the foundations of the priestly state, was necessary, as soon as this worship had developed on the one hand into a number of usages resting on ancient practice and oral tradition, and on the other had attained to a domination over tribes and peoples. Its purpose was to furnish the priest skilled in these practices with the key to the understanding of them and their mutual relations. A complete ritual, on the other hand, like the *Kalpa* writings arose when the sacred function had become already dead, stiff and overladen, when it had become unintelligible and was practised merely as a skilled performance. It is the result of a condition of externalization in worship which could have been produced only in later centuries and as the consequence of that

dogmatic settlement brought about by the Brāhmaṇas and the body of literature allied to them.

In the case of particular writings of the *Kalpa* it can be exactly shown how they rest upon the Brāhmaṇas. As an instance of this we may take, for example, the relation of the liturgical Sūtras of Aśvalāyana, which appear to have enjoyed an extraordinary circulation in India, to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. For most of the chapters of the latter a corresponding section in those Sūtras can be pointed out. Compare, *e. g.*, Aitar. Brāhm. II, 2 ff., II, 20, I, 17 with Aśvalāyana Śrauta S. II, 1 ff, V, 1, IV, 5 ff; indeed the Sūtras borrow from it, word for word, instructions and long passages (*e.g.*, Aśval. Śr. IX, 3 is taken from Ait. Brāhm. VII, 18, and Aśval. XII, 9 from Ait. Brāhm. VII, 1) although they by no means pretend to be a mere commentary or supplement to that Brāhmaṇa, but in many a passage quote the view of the *Aitareyinas* as only one among others.¹

It would certainly be an opportune service, and one of no small value, if any scholar would take the trouble—trouble which would not in every respect reward him—of examining in one of the three European libraries which are richest in the liturgical works of Indian literature, that of Berlin, London or Oxford, the order and connection of the various practical works reckoned as belonging to the Veda, and determining whether we are to consider that we have only one series of liturgical acts or several running parallel to each other, what position is to be assigned on this system especially to the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā and what is the significance of the fact that individual liturgical books are associated with the Rik Saṁhitā, others with the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā and others again with the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and so on. As things now stand, one looks in vain amongst Indian interpreters for a clear insight into this connection or even a satisfactory outward arrangement of the works. There is every reason to expect that as the result of such an examina-

¹ We should make a mistake if we were always to refer to a School such derivative name forms as Aitareyina, derived from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Atharvanikās from the Atharva Saṁhitā, etc., which Pāṇini interprets as "those who read or understand the book". They are, in most cases, only a designation of the book itself. We might have said with reference to the recension of Homer by Aristarchus after the Alexandrian period *οἱ Ἀρισταρχεῖοι* or *οἱ περὶ Ἀρισταρχὸν λεγόντες* if Aristarchus similarly never had founded a school.

tion, which would know how to separate the important from the accidental and the indifferent, the real historical kernel from the numberless accretions of a theology suffering from an exuberance of *diaskeuases*, glosses, commentaries and explanations of commentaries, the apparently impenetrable forest might soon be opened up and some few main pathways be disclosed for future and more exact research.

As a contribution to this, as a specimen of the theology of the Brāhmanas, of which no one can easily form a conception without a more complete example, I append an extract from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (II, 1-7) on the subject of animal offerings. This passage would, in any case, have had to be partially discussed in connection with Nirukta V, 11, VIII, 4, & ff., and perhaps no other passage could furnish a more suitable illustration.

The sacrificial usages in connection with the slaying of the animal present remarkable resemblances to the Greek and Roman custom and it follows incontrovertibly from this that the slaying of animals, at least as propitiatory sacrifices, was just as customary amongst the tribes of the Brahmanical people as amongst all the historical nations of the Indo-European family. Still one finds already that tender sympathy with the animal that takes on it the load of human sin which led in later times, in connection with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, to the abolition of animal sacrifice. Apparently the prohibition of the slaying and eating of animals found its way in its later expansion into the Brahmanical system from the starting point of Buddhistic doctrine.

Animal Sacrifice (Ait. Br. II, 1—7).

Through the offering the god attained to heaven; in their concern lest men and Ṛṣis, who might have seen their act, should win for themselves this knowledge they stuck the sacrificial stake (*yūpa*), upside down in the ground before they ascended to heaven. They desired to make the sacrifice (and thereby the ascent of man to a divine dignity) impossible, *ayopayan*, and therefore the stake is called *yūpa*. Men and Ṛṣis however, succeeded in discovering this, dug out the stake and placed it upright. Therefore the erecting of the *yūpa* means acquaintance with sacrifice and the revelation of the heavenly world.

Then the *yūpa* is compared to lightning. It must be eight-cornered like the lightning with its eight forks. And as the latter is hurled by God against the man who offends him, so the *yūpa* stands to destroy the enemy and it is an unwelcome sight to the enemy when he to whom they wish evil prepares himself for a sacrifice by erecting the *yūpa*.

The stake can be made of three kinds of wood, of that of the Mimosa (*Mimosa catechu*), of that of the Bilva tree (*Aegle marmelos*) or of Palāśa wood (*Butea frondosa*).

With this is connected a symbolism, which is often met with in connection with the more important trees and shrubs, *viz.*, that he who strives for heaven should take the Mimosa wood, he who desires earthly blessings and prosperity the second kind of wood, and he who seeks the fame of sanctity the Palās'a.

Then follows the interpretation of the ceremony performed at the stake; the Brāhmaṇa begins without any introduction: "We anoint the sacrificial stake, begin thy mantra" thus says he (*viz.*, the *hotar*). Then the *adhvaryu* begins:

Those who long for God anoint thee in the sacrifice,
O prince of the forest, with the divine sweetness;
Whether thou standest upright, give us treasures,
Or whether thou liest on this mother-ground

[Rik. III, I, 8, 1.]

Erect thyself, prince of the forest, over the surface of
the earth

Measured according to correct measures; give food to
the bringer of the offering (*Ibidem* 3).

On this follows the second verse of the same hymn with similar contents, then R. I, 8, 1, 13 & 14. "Stand erected for our protection, etc."; finally still two more strophes out of the previous hymn (5, 4) and everywhere as a rule after each half line (*pāda*) the Brāhmaṇa intersperses partly remarks that are really explanatory (*e.g.*, by the "divine sweetness" is to be understood clarified butter, *āja*), partly symbolical references, and gives, at the close, the explanation that the first and last of the above seven strophes are to be repeated each three times so that there may be in all 11 of them. "Eleven-syllabled is the Trīṣṭup—a metre in which most of the above verses are

composed—the *Trīṣṭup* is Indra's thunderbolt,⁽¹⁾ thus he who knows this completes with these verses as Indra's instruments the holy work", (*ya eva veda*, a refrain which recurs at the end of every principal exposition.)

After a short explanation of the steps by which the erection and consecration of the sacrificial stake, and therein the preparatory ceremony of the animal sacrifice, are completed, the *Brāhmaṇa* comes to the consideration of the significance of the animal sacrifice itself.

"The man who prepares that offering is on the point of offering himself to all the divinities. Agni is equal to all the gods; Soma is equivalent to all the gods; the sacrificer who offers the animal dedicated to Agni and Soma, ransoms himself thereby from all the gods." And further "it means: let him not eat of the animal dedicated to Agni and Soma; he who eats of this animal, eats of man for with it the sacrificer ransoms himself." The *Brāhmaṇa*, however, runs counter to this precept by its appeal to a myth and so far it has deviated from the manifestly oldest form of the propitiatory offering which in its idea is *ἑσπία ἀγευστος* (untasted sacrifice) and, in accordance with the interpretation quoted above, was this in a much nobler sense than the Greek offerings for the dead which were not touched because they belonged to an unearthly region.

The introduction to the real central point of the sacrificial rite is given in a prayer, a so-called *Aprīśūktam*, hymn of invocation, in which the fire under various aspects, the straw of the sacrifice, the gates of the enclosure of the place of sacrifice and other personifications of acts and instruments of offering—in all generally ten, and at the close one or more gods, are invoked in traditional order.⁽²⁾

All the conditions for an auspicious completion of the sacrifice (this is the thought of these hymns), are to be united in the sacred act that follows. A remarkable reminiscence of ancient times and circumstances is awakened here by the fact that in the individual case that

(1) The *Trīṣṭup* is specially sacred to Indra as the *Gayatri* to Agni, the *Jagati* to Aditya, etc., Cf. e.g., *Nir.* VII. 10.

(2) The *Aprī* hymns are discussed at *Nir.* VIII 4 ff. In the *Rigveda* there are ten such hymns; another is found in the *Atharva* V, 27. We meet the same word also in the liturgy of the *Zend-Nation* e.g., in the *Yasna*, Burnouf, p. 482 and in the *Yasht* of the *Feruer*, *Journal As.* X 240 (*Ko frīnāt*).

hymn of invocation is always to be selected by the priest which is ascribed by tradition to a Ṛṣi of the family of the offerer (*tābhir yatharṣyāprīṇīyāt*); thereby is secured, says the Brāhmaṇa, that the offerer does not fall out of touch with his relations.

The things which in these hymns are given as the conditions of the act of sacrifice are interpreted by the Brāhmaṇa, in its symbolizing manner and in harmony with the thought that the animal offering is a ransom paid for the life of the man, with reference to the conditions of human life and existence, breath, voice, food, possessions in herds, etc. Then follow the *mantras* to be used at the kindling and carrying of the fire (IV, 2, 5, 1—3, etc.), and finally the kernel of the whole sacrificial transaction, the formula, primitive in respect of its entire language and mode of representation, according to which the slaying of the animal must be carried out.

The complete text of this formula as it occurs also in other places, *e. g.*, Aśval-Śr. III, 3, and in the following working out of the Brāhmaṇa is indicated by special type runs thus :—

दैव्याः शमितार आरभध्वमुत मनुष्याः । उपनयत मेध्या दुर आशासाना
मेधपतिभ्यां मेधम् । प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत स्तृणीत बर्हिः । अन्वेनं माता मन्यता-
मनुपितानु भ्राता सगर्भ्योऽनुसखा सयूध्यः । उदीचीनाँ अस्य पदे निधत्तात् ॥
सूर्यं चक्षुर्गमयताद्वातं प्राणमन्ववसृजतादन्तरिक्षमसुं दिशः श्रोत्रं पृथिवीं शरीरम् ॥
एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छयतात्पुरानाभ्या अपिशसो वपामुत्खिदतादान्तरेवोष्माणं वारय-
ध्वात् । श्येनमस्य वक्षः कृणुतात्प्रशंसा बाहू शला दोषणी कश्यपेवाँसाच्छिद्रे
श्रोणी कवपोनू स्नेकपर्णाष्टीवन्ता पङ्क्तिशतितस्य वङ्क्यस्ता अनुष्ठयोच्चयावयता-
द्रात्रं गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात् ।

ऊवध्यगोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् । अस्ना रक्षः संसृजतात् ।

वनिष्ठुमस्य मा राविष्ठोनूकं मन्यमानाः ।

नेद्वस्तोके तनये रविता र्वच्छमितारः । अध्रिगो शमीध्वं

सुशामि शमीध्वं शमीध्वमध्रिगा ३ उ अपाप ॥ *

“ *Divine slayers begin, also ye human slayers.* Thus he calls to the slayers among the Gods as well as among men. *Bring to the gates of the place of sacrifice the offering*

Cf. Pāṇini IV, 4, 114. VII 1, 42, 44, VII 3, 95 where the quotations are in part to be amended according to the above.

with an invocation to the two Lords of the offering! The animal is the offering, the sacrificer is the Lord of the offering, by his offering it benefits the sacrificer. It is, however, also added that the divinity to which the animal is presented should be called the Lord of the offering; if it is intended for a particular divinity he says: 'to the Lord of the offering'; if for two, it runs: 'to the two Lords of the offering'; if there are three: 'to the Lords of the offering'. This is the correct procedure⁽²⁾. *Carry the fire in front of it* As the animal was brought forward it saw death before it; since it had however, no desire to go to the Gods, the Gods said to it: Come, we shall bring thee to heaven! It said: Yes, if one of you goes before me. The Gods agreed and Agni went before it and the animal followed Agni. Therefore every animal sacrificed is called *āgneya* (dedicated to Agni) since it followed Agni and therefore fire (*Agni*) is carried in front of it.

Spread the sacred grass. The animal subsists on vegetables (*oshadhy-ātmā vai paśu:*) and so the animal is put in possession of all that belongs to it (*sarvātmānā karoti*). *Let its Mother, its father take farewell of it, its brother whom the same mother has borne, its friend that has gone with it in the same herd.* When it has thus been set free from its relatives they lay hold of it. *Turn its feet toward the North, let its eyes turn to the sun, let its breath go into the wind, its life into the air, to the quarters of the heavens its ear, to the earth its body.* Into these worlds the animal is sent. *Remove its hide in one piece, out of one opening above the navel] press out the juice.*⁽¹⁾ *Keep off the heat.* It gives life to the animal. *Make its breast* (in appearance) *like an eagle, its arms* (the upper part of its forelegs) *like two hatchets, its forearms* (the lower part of its forelegs) *like two forks, its two shoulders like two tortoises, its loins undivided, its thighs like two shields, like two oleander-leaves its knees* (the lower part of its hind legs.) *Its six and twenty ribs tear out in order. Let each member remain un-*

(1) The above passage is translated accordingly, and without doubt by the two lords of the offering are to be understood Agni and Soma. If the first explanation is adhered to, the formula would have to be understood thus—"with an invocation at the same time to the two lords of the offering." These two would probably be the sacrificer and his wife.

(2) According to *Aśv.grhya* I, 12 this was done by inserting grass which absorbed the moisture and was afterwards pressed (in order to yield up the moisture).

injured; ⁽¹⁾ thus the body of the animal is atoned for in its members. *For the entrails dig a pit in the ground.* The contents of the entrails consist of vegetables; the earth is the place of vegetables, thus he brings these for ever to their place."

Sprinkle with the blood the evil spirits. By the husks of the fruit seeds (which they scattered over them) the Gods kept the evil spirits back from the offering of butter, with blood they kept them back from the great sacrifice. When now it is said: sprinkle the evil spirits with the blood, that is understood to mean that they should be fed with the portion of the offering that belongs peculiarly to them. Further, it is said: At the time of the sacrifice, he should praise the evil spirits. Who are these evil spirits? They (it is objected) have nothing to do with the sacrifice. To this it is replied, he should continually praise them; since he who deprives of his proper portion him who is entitled thereto will be injured by that one, if not in his own person at least in his children or children's children. However, when he praises the evil spirits he must do it in a muttering (repressed) voice (*upāśu*); muttering is the concealed voice, the evil spirits are likewise hidden. But if he should praise the evil spirits with a loud sound, then can be turned (by these spirits) into a demon's howl the voice of him who speaks with a demon's voice. Now the man who is overweening, who speaks with impetuosity (loud), speaks with a demon's voice. On the other hand he who knows this will neither himself be proud nor will a proud person be born in his family. *Do not shudder at the sight of its entrails as if you saw an owl nor let any one among your children and children's children shudder, ye slayers!* So saying he delivers the animal into the hands of the divine and human slayers. *Adhrigu*⁽²⁾ *slay, slay auspiciously, slay, Adhrigu.* This let him repeat three times and three times the words *O thou sinless one!* Adhrigu is the slayer amongst the Gods, the sinless, the subduer among them; so he delivers it to the slayers and subduers. Ye slayers, whatever good you bring about may it fall to us, whatever evil let it turn elsewhere; thus he speaks. Agni was the high priest of the Gods. He consecrated the animal with the utterance of a *mantra*, therefore

(1) Cf. Rik. I, 22, 6, 18. The whole hymn agrees with the above passage except that the animal offered is a horse.

(2) Thus according to the Brhmana.

he also (the human priest) dedicates the same with a *mantra*. He shews therein the slayers and the subduers of the victim what they have to cut off at the beginning and what afterwards, what is in excess and what is deficient. With a "Hail!" the sacrificer is set free long living and to long life. He who knows this lives long."

When we again take up the question above left off with regard to the Vedāṅga Literature, which Yāska had before him, there meets us, besides the reference previously discussed to two works which we reckoned as belonging to the Kalpa-books, the Kāṭhaka and the Hāridravika, the mention of the grammatical text-books of the Schools. (Nir. I, 17). That these words cannot well be understood otherwise than of the books which, in part, have come down to us under the title of Prātiśākhya, I have endeavoured to prove in "Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda" pp. 56 ff. To what I have said there regarding these writings, I am now able to add a good deal that is more exact since I have been favoured with several relevant MSS from the Royal Library in Berlin by the authorities of that Library with a praiseworthy liberality for which I may be permitted here to express my thanks.

First of all, I must now define the idea of a Prātiśākhya more exactly, *viz.*, as a text book of Vedic Elementary Grammar based always on only one Vedic book in the first instance, and that one of the books which are called Sainhitā.

A Vedic Sainhitā furnishes the material for its respective *prātiśākhya* in this way that the latter does not aim at completeness and at general rules with respect to the forms of the Vedic language, but limits itself entirely to the material contained in one single book, chooses its examples for its rules out of it alone and lays down no rule which cannot be proved from it. A *prātiśākhya* is, in a word, always only the *elementary grammar of a particular book*.

Now inasmuch as the individual Sainhitās are designated Riksainhitā, Vājasaneyā-sainhitā, &c., as branches (śākhā) of the one great stem, the one Veda, these particular grammars are called *prātiśākhyas*. The definition of Madhusūdana quoted in another place, p. 54 (*prātiśākhya bhinnarūpā*), is thus perfectly accurate. By this statement it is not intended to deny, however, that these particular gram-

mars were not, at the same time, the text books of different schools. They are *prātiśākhya* in respect of their limited material and *pārṣada* as Yāska calls them in respect of their immediate repute in a particular circle of the learned.

The one does not exclude the other. Rather each school had, according to a peculiar limitation and inflexibility in the scientific efforts of India, set before itself for treatment only one definite branch of the revelation laid down in the Veda, *i.e.*, only one particular book ; and as this comparatively later period treated individual Vedic books in separate schools, so, according to all indications, the arrangement and collection of each of these books in the preceding centuries proceeded likewise from separate learned bodies which gathered themselves around one head.

Grammar underwent the same natural course of development which we find elsewhere. It did not start from the basis of the living speech, but its origin was due to the discovery of a difference between certain forms of speech in current language and those of the written works and it limited itself in the first instance chiefly to the setting forth of these deviations. Then again, it did not include the whole mass of available literature, but always only those particular books that were of special importance in the particular circles concerned.

Thus the way was opened up for a general grammar which treats of the written and spoken language together. We find it first in Paṇini and from this time onwards these particular grammars disappear gradually from general use.

The distribution of the particular *prātiśākhyas* with reference to the Vedic Saṁhitās is as follows :—

I. The *first* Prātiśākhya—according to the arrangement already previously adopted by me—the most extensive of these books is connected with the Saṁhitā of the Rīgveda⁽¹⁾. It frequently quotes the hymns according to their authors and, in this connection, there occurs the case, at least once, to my knowledge of a passage

(1) I always set down the MSS known to me in order to facilitate the search for means of study to others who may occupy themselves with these books. MSS of the text of the Sūtras are: (a) No. 1355, East India House, (b) No. 595 of the Chambers Collection in the Royal Library, Berlin., (c) No. 691 of the same Collection. Text and Commentary are contained in the MSS:—(a) No. 203 in the Royal Library, Paris, (b) No. 28, East India House, (c) No. 394 Chambers; an old MS from the middle of the third Paṭala onwards.

quoted, which is no longer to be found in our present diaskeuasis of the Rik. In Pat. 17, 6 stands the Sūtra :—

एकादशैव छंदसि पादा ये षोडशाक्षराः ।

सर्वे त्रिकद्वीयासु नाकुलो ऽष्टादशाक्षरः ॥

"In the hymns are found lines of 16 syllables, all in the verses beginning with the word *trikadruka* (Rik. II, 2, 11, 1-4.) A line of 18 syllables in Nakula." Now, among the hymns of the present Rigveda, there is none to be met with ascribed to Nakula. But we can come on its track in another way. A quotation in Nir. I, 7 and another in VI. 12 are described by Durga as taken from a hymn of Nakula, a son of Vāmadeva, and indeed in the same way in which he is accustomed to quote all other hymns of the Rigveda Saṁhitā. Both the passages quoted are found again in a hymn consisting of four strophes or fragments of a hymn which is extracted from the Aśvalāyana Sūtras IV, 6. In this we find also the line of 18 syllables :—

अर्चामि सत्यसवं रत्नधामभि प्रियं मतिं कविम् ।⁽¹⁾

In all probability we must assume that the Prātiśākhya had as its foundation an edition of the Riksaṁhitā, which contains that hymn. The assumption that the passage cited has been taken from the Sāma or Atharva Veda, in an exceptional manner, is already excluded beforehand by the fact of a different reading in these two collections which the metrical definitions of the Prātiśākhya would not suit. That these verses, moreover, occupy no undisputed place in the Saṁhitā of the Rik may be conjectured from this that they are quoted in Aśvalāyana not, as is almost uniformly the case with quotations from the hymns of the Rigveda, merely with the opening words, but in their entirety. Only passages taken from other sources are, as a rule, quoted in this way. In an exact examination of the Prātiśākhya, which should have for its object the discovery in the Veda text of every individual passage quoted, many similar contributions to a history and criticism of this most important Veda text might undoubtedly be secured⁽²⁾.

(1) The first strophe of the hymn stands also in Sāma I, 4, 3, 9. Atharva IV, 1, 1, and in the Taittiriya Saṁhitā (cf. Ait. Brahm. I, 19), the second in Ath. IV, 1, 2, the fourth, from which that line is taken, Sāma I, 5, 8, 8, Ath. XI. 4, 2. In both passages it counts only 16 syllables, through the last word *kavim* being left out.

(2) To the grammarians of the Prātiśākhya (Zur Litt. & Gesch. p. 64) is to be added Anyatāreya (a namesake of Aitareya, cf. Pān. IV, 1, 123 and the Gaṇa).

II. The *second* Prātiśākhya is the grammar of the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā.⁽¹⁾ It quotes accordingly many sections by their liturgical names, *e.g.*, the Sautrāmaṇi 3, 125; 4, 68; Āśvamedha 5, 36 gives rules for the *yājus*, *i.e.*, the unmetrical sections of that Saṁhitā, *e.g.*, 4, 78. If this book is similarly ascribed to the Madhyandina School, it does not think it beneath itself to take note, on several occasions, of the divergent views of its rival Kaṇva.

III. With reference to the *third* book, although I have not yet had an opportunity of verifying its quotations in the respective text, I can no longer doubt that it belongs to the Taittirīya Saṁhitā as I have already conjectured in "Zur Litt. & Gesch," p. 63. The names of the passages occasionally mentioned in this Prātiśākhya of the book on which it is founded such as Graha, Ukhya, etc., as well as the frequent quotation of the Taittirīyaka and Ahvāraka which latter are reckoned among the twelve Śākha of the Black Yājus, point in this direction.⁽²⁾

IV. Finally, I have discovered a *fourth* book which, in spite of its differing title I have no hesitation in placing in line with the preceding.

It consists of the four sections of the grammatical rules of Śaunaka, *Chaturādhyāyikam Saunakiyam* (No. 143 Chambers, 77 Leaves Samvat, 1714) of which each is again subdivided into four sub-sections, *pādas*. The Commentary on this is very insignificant and meagre. The Vedic Saṁhitā, the laws of the pronunciation of which are treated of in this writing is that of the *Atharva*; it is easy to prove this from the quotations. Besides, the first title of the book runs thus: *Athā'ngirasas*; and Angirasas is one of the designations of the hymns of the Atharveda which elsewhere is called in Indian writings Brahmaveda or *atharvā'ngirasas*.

I have met in the book a reference to an older grammarian, the grammarian named Anyatareya in the first Prātiśākhya. The grammatical terminology is exactly the same as we have in the Prātiśākhyas, and the rules are concerned with the same department of grammar.

(1) A MS of the text is No. 35 Chambers. Text and commentary (a) No. 454 of the same collection. Samvat 1650 a good copy; (b) No. 598 East India House, very careless. To the grammarians is here to be added Dālbhya (vide the Gāṇa Garga).

(2) Other MSS of this book than the incomplete copies named in Zur Litt. & Gesch. page 54 are not known to me.

There have thus been already discovered the special grammars relating to four of the Vedic Saṁhitās and only that of the Sāmaveda is wanting. It can indeed scarcely be doubted that it also has found an editor whose work, now that attention has once been turned to this side of Vedic exegesis, will perhaps soon come to light. However, the Sāmaveda seems generally not to have been diligently studied, probably by reason of the want of independence in its contents, whence also the scarcity of copies of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on it, which up to now has been brought to Europe only in one copy or at most in two.

If the result of our investigation of these books which we class together under their common, but necessarily later-arisen name of Prātiśākhya is this that they are works which handle the Vedic elementary rules, based each upon one of the Saṁhitās and, in harmony with the peculiar-character of that kind of learned research in India, proceeding always from particular schools, then Yāska's words in Nir. I, 17 cannot be more suitably referred to any other class of writings. To this must be added that precisely the subject of which this passage in the Nirukta treats, *viz.*, the relation of the Saṁhitā text, which connects the words according to the general laws of pronunciation to the pāda text, which gives them separately, constitutes the principal subject of the Prātiśākyas, and finally that their view of that relation is just the same that the Nirukta ascribes to the *pārśada*, the grammatical text-books of all the schools. I regard it therefore as completely established, unless entirely similar or still older books can be proved to exist, that Yāska knew *these writings*. And if he knew them, it is very probable that he reckoned them to the *Vedāṅgas*.

They claim this place, not only by virtue of their close relation to the Veda in their subject matter, but also in virtue of the names of their authors, which we know at least in the case of three of them. To the two names Kātyāyana and Śaunaka, which occupy an important place in the history of the most ancient Indian learning, and in the legends, a great mass of works supplementary to the Veda and to Vedic theology are traced. We shall, of course, never be able to determine which works Yāska really named *Vedāṅga*, but the progress of our labours may be expected

more and more to identify the works which he could thus name and ever more clearly to shew that the books which have come down to us as Vedāngas were not Yāska's Vedāngas.

He reckons among the Vedāngas only the *Collection of the Nighaṇṭavas* or, if this is not to be found expressly stated in his words (Nir. I. 20), he at least places them in close connection with the Vedāngas. And it follows from what has been brought forward in the preceding discussion that this Nighaṇṭava collection is older than the Nirukta.

A learned edition of the Naighaṇṭuka has come down to us from the 15th or 16th Century of our era. It has for its author Devarāja who, as the introductory strophes state, lived in the neighbourhood of Yajnā-rangeśapuri and was a son of Yajneśvarārya and grandson of Devarājajavan, and according to the remark at the close of the MS belonged to the family of Atri.

In the introduction to his book, Devarāja gives the following explanation regarding the condition of the MSS of the Naighaṇṭuka, and the manner in which it was then understood and the reasons which led him to compose his commentary. Yāska, he says, has in the Nirukta explained individually, and in their entirety, only the words of which a list is given in the fourth and fifth section of the Naighaṇṭuka (in the *Naigama* and *Daivata*) and given the relative proof passages; on the other hand, we find expositions and quotations for only some amongst the 1341 words of the three first sections. After Yāska Skandavāmin, he says, took up the work of explanation and explained at length, *e. g.*, words like those of Ngh. I, 4, and the compounds in 3, 13, and 3, 29 which have been discussed by Yāska only in a general way. But many other words for which neither explanations nor proofs were available had to be understood simply from their form. This was all the more precarious that the study of the Vedas and learned tradition in the latest period (in the "Kaliyuga") was much interrupted and obscured and the only help that remained was simply the collection of words, the Naighaṇṭuka. But now, entire words were wanting in this collection through the corruption of the MSS, others were interpolated, others

again were altered in form and thus part of the Naighaṇṭuka, the first three sections, just because it wanted a consistent exposition and collection of examples, abounded in errors. In order to restore the correct reading and to make the understanding of the scripture easier for the less learned, he, Devarāja, now retrieves what Yāska and Skandaśvāmin left unexplained. Further, he gives his explanations by no means merely on his own authority (*svamanīṣikayā*); he has as helps, in the first place, Yāska's own explanations of 350 words of the Naighaṇṭuka, which are found scattered here and there in the Nirukta; 200 words have been explained by Skandasvāmin; and finally many of the remaining words have been explained on occasion by many others. The readings followed by these are to be retained. Furthermore, he says in consequence of the study of the Naighaṇṭuka carried on uninterruptedly in his family- (*samāmnāya* 'dhyayanasya' *vichedāt*), by diligent use of the numerous writings of Mādhava and by comparison of numerous MSS collected from all quarters, he has been able to amend and explain other portions of the text.

Devarāja's work is thus confined to the strictly lexical part of the Naighaṇṭuka. But he is far from having succeeded everywhere in the task which he attempted: a great number of words have had to remain without authentication: his standing formula for these is *nigamo 'nveṣaṇīyas*, "A proof passage is still to be sought." Much that could have been established from the Saṁhitā of the Rik has escaped him; he shews a great want of independent judgment; he employs, however, a tolerably comprehensive Vedic literature, *e.g.*, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Araṇyaka of similar name, the Chandogya Upaniṣad, the Āpastamba Śākhā, &c.

It has not been possible for me to make a transcript of the single copy of this book, which, so far as my knowledge goes, is to be found in Europe (East India House, 1134). It certainly deserved to be made use of in an exhaustive lexical work on the Vedas, because in it frequently the explanations of words given by earlier exegetes whose works we have not yet become acquainted with, *e. g.* Haradatta, Kṣīrasvāmin, and above all these, Skandasvāmin, the

older interpreter of some portions of the Naighaṇṭuka and those of others, are set down.

With regard to the origin and purpose of the Naighaṇṭuka, I have already expressed the view that it, especially in the second part, was a collection of difficult and archaic expressions to be made the basis of such instruction in the interpretation of the Veda as was wont to be given in the schools of the Brahmans. At that time, there was no need of continuous commentaries; learning was also probably not yet so specialized; a list of the expressions for the ideas occurring most frequently in the Vedas, of the chief passages requiring explanation, both in respect of language and subject-matter, a simple catalogue of the gods and the objects of worship as we have it in the Naighaṇṭuka sufficed as a guide to oral instruction. In a subsequent period these elements were expounded formally and in writing; the Nirukta belongs to this period and in a still later period arise the exhaustive continuous commentaries.

An exactly similar state of things presents itself in Greece. There Homer was (with the exception of Hesiod, who, however, never attained equally high authority) the only source of higher knowledge and was pre-eminently the book of the schools; the science of grammar and almost every other science began to be developed in connection with Homer's works. In India, the Veda takes the place of Homer; it comprised for the Brahmanical people their whole store of mental culture, was as a sacred book all the more a natural subject of investigation to the learned man who was at the same time a priest, and became the first problem of grammar, a science which, in India, was far more generally diffused than in Greece and reached at an early date a far higher stage of development. At the same time, not only the language, but the subject-matter of the Veda stood much farther from the Indian of the centuries immediately before Buddha (700 and 600 B.C.) in which we have to place the full bloom of the priesthood, than his Homer did to the Greek of the time of Perikles. Among the Greeks there arose at this period and perhaps even earlier those collections of peculiar Homeric words of which the meaning had become unfamiliar, the γλωσσαι; in India for the Veda, the *Naighaṇṭavas* were collected, a word

the meaning of which I hold to be identical with γλωσσαί (1). The beginnings were identical in both cases. In the short interval from Perikles to the end of the Alexandrian period Greece did, however, more for the explanation of Homer than India accomplished in the long course of the centuries down to Sāyana and Mahidhara in the 16th Century for the understanding of the Vedas. Of course the task of India was by far the more difficult. Besides Indian learning lacked the possibility of a free development. Orthodoxy had to deny history and find the conditions of the present at every period in the monuments of the past, because the present could and would have no other foundation than the half-understood traditions of antiquity which were surrounded by a sacred halo. The priesthood supplied the necessary authentic explanations, without which, of course, there could never have been found in those books the things which with its assistance were so easily discovered.

The mind thus wronged accustomed itself to its yoke and went its way along the prescribed path; the historical sense was irretrievably lost and contented itself with the permitted harmless enjoyment of the exercise of solving grammatical questions. As a consolation the credit can be given to the Indian that, in the field of grammār, he has far surpassed the Greek.

The Naighaṇṭuka stands for us practically at the summit of a history of exegesis. It is indeed not impossible that in India several such collections existed, that perhaps only the one before us attained to general recognition, and that then other earlier ones disappeared. Similar collections especially might have been made for the other Vedic books; since the Naighaṇṭuka limits itself, chiefly in its second part, with very rare exceptions, to the Saṁhitā of the Rīgveda. It was, however, most natural that this was the one that attained to authority and survived because from the standpoint of the Indian the Rīgveda alone demanded a really philological exposition.

I cannot conclude these introductory words without an expression of the thanks which I owe for manifold kind

(1) Galen in the preface to the Lex. Hippocrat. ὅσα τοῖνυν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν μὲν τοῖς παλαιαῖς χρόνοις ἤν συνήθη νυνὶ δ' οὐκετι ἔστι τα μὲν τοιαῦτα γλωσσᾶς καλοῦσι

assistance, in this field of study almost indispensable, to my friends especially in London and Berlin.

I am under especial obligations to my honoured teacher, Heinrich von Ewald, to whom it is due in more than one respect that I have been able to begin and so far complete this work. May he give my efforts in the domain of Indian antiquities the credit of being inspired by the same spirit of historical philology by means of which he has achieved such wide conquests on behalf of science.

My friend, Dr. Theodor Benfey in Göttingen has not only undertaken the troublesome task of passing the work through the press, a task which could not have been placed in better hands, but has also assisted me in various ways from his knowledge of the Vedas. I thank him for this and trust that by mutual assistance we may still for a length of time be permitted to advance this branch of knowledge that is shaping itself anew.

Tübingen ;

July 1847.

RUDOLPH ROTH.

APPENDIX.

On the elements of the Indian Accent according to the Prātiśākhya Sūtras.

In what follows I fulfil a promise which I formerly made. It was, moreover, all the more necessary to prefix to this edition a brief exposition of the more ancient Indian conception of the accent, that this is one of the first to be provided with accent marks after the indigenous manner, and that Pāṇini, to whom otherwise we are accustomed to go for instruction in the accents, is in this elementary portion of the subject unusually sparing in his statement.

1. All Indian grammarians, when they give a synoptical statement of the accents, are accustomed to speak of three. These are, according to the generally current designations, the *Udātta*, the acute, the *Anudātta*, the grave, and the *Svarita*, the sustained tone; they are produced in this order by straining, relaxing and sustaining the sound (*āyāmaṣṭrambhā- kṣepa*, I Prāt. 3,1) which the Scholiast Uvaṭa connects with the raising, lowering and horizontal movement (*tiryag-gamana*) of the organs which produce the sound (on the passage above quoted and II Prāt. I, 109-111).

These regulate those movements of the hand by which, like the now common beating of the time in music, the correct recitation of the hymns appears to have been accompanied.

When, however, one attempts to make clear to one's self the mutual sound-relation of the three accents thus defined, which must be that of a regular musical rise (as it has been already also correctly defined only by H. von Ewald "Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes V, 440" according to Böhtlingk's statement) one comes upon a gap in the series. *Udātta* and *Svarita* are, to put it briefly, positive tones, *Anudātta* is negative; there is thus wanting the indifferent mean, the ordinary level of the voices above and below which they rise and fall. *Anudātta* is of course, as understood by the grammarians who like Pāṇini know only the three names, the term used to designate this, but it is on this account unfit to represent the lowered tone properly so called when it must precede the higher, and Pāṇini is, therefore, compelled to define this lowered tone more exactly as *sanatātara*, i.e., lower than *Anudātta*, which his

expounders reproduce more briefly by the term *anudāttatara* (I, 2, 40) while he ascribes to the real intermediate tone *ekāśruti*, the quality of being indistinguishable by the ear (I, 2, 39). Instead of thus including under the term *Anudātta* two distinct accents which in some other way ought to be more exactly defined, it will be expedient to retain the terms used in some of the *Prātiśākhya*s which, as they are more thorough in the elementary treatment of the accents generally, distinguish between *anudātta*, the lowered tone, and the *prachaya-svara* or *prachita-svara*. The name of the latter can be interpreted as meaning *full*, i.e., unmodified tone, or as the *tone which comes in a heap*, since it can include a greater number of successive syllables in a sentence, can indeed run through entire forms of prayer, while the other accents depend upon a necessary change of tone.

II. The essential nature of the three accents which represent the regular gradation of tone, the *Anudātta*, *Prachaya*, and *Udātta* is in itself intelligible. Less intelligible to us, and even for all the grammarians not perfectly clear, is the nature of the *Svarita*. It is uniformly described as a combination of the *Udātta* and *Anudātta* in which case, of course we are to understand by the latter not the accent so called in the narrower sense of the term, but generally the tone which does not go beyond the neutral line. (I. Prāt. 3, 2. II Prāt. I, III &c.). With regard to its tone-constituents, the first and second *Prātiśākhyā* state that the first half of its duration—whether the syllable on which it rests contains one, two, or three *moras**—sounds higher than the high tone, the remainder, however, although it is regarded as *anudātta* is said to have a tone-value similar to that of the *Udātta* (*udāttaśruti*). The latter half of the *Svarita* loses this tone-value if an *Udātta* or *Svarita* follows it in the sentence (I. Prāt. 3, 3, 19); it sinks or breaks (*prakampate*). The second *Prātiśākhyā* says that only the last portion of it sinks (*uttaro deśa: prañihanyate*) and the *Śaunakīya* limits this breaking to the duration of the last quarter of the last *mora*. (3, 3.) From this it is already plain that the *Svarita* is inferior in intensity of tone to the *Udātta* which always retains its full value.

* मोहरा, a beat in music.

If the *Svarita* is then, according to the foregoing, not an original tone, but a result of the coming together of two accents, the question as to the conditions under which this phenomenon occurs now arises. If it occurred quite universally from the confluence of an accented with a following unaccented vowel—to which the description given of its nature would point—there would be, according to the laws of Sandhi in Sanskrit either in the case of an individual word or in the union of two words, these three possible cases :—

(a) That the two vowels should coalesce, as takes place in the case of homogeneous vowels, *a* before *i* coalescing into *e*, before *u* into *o*, that is *krasis*;

(b) That the final vowel of the first member of a word or of a word should be changed into a semi-vowel before the initial vowel of the second, as *i* before the vowel *a* and *u*, and *u* before the vowels *a* and *i*, *liquidization*.

(c) That the preceding vowel should swallow up the following vowel as takes place when *e* or *o* precedes short *a*, *elision* or more correctly *synalæphe*.

If the *Svarita* of Sanskrit were in place in the first of these three cases, it would be scarcely distinguishable from the Greek circumflex if we only leave out of account the transgression of the universal law of which Greek is guilty, in combining in perverse order the grave with a following acute into the circumflex (ἑσταότος, ἑστῶτος). Here the long vowel has attracted the circumflex, that is, quantity has triumphed over accent, as also happens in every case in which a penultimate syllable is accented and long, and the last short (σῶμα). In Sanskrit, on the other hand, the tone generally, and thus the *Svarita* also, is entirely independent of the quantity of the individual syllable as it is of the stress laid upon the whole word. In this it is so essentially distinguished from the Greek circumflex as regards the circumstances of its origin that in the first of the above cases, it occurs only in a single and very limited class of exceptional examples, while in the second and third it is regularly found.

In this connection, it is further worth mentioning that, according to a remark of the first Prātiśākhya, a grammarian Māṇḍukeya is of opinion that, in all cases of the

krasis of an accented syllable with a succeeding unaccented syllable, the *Svarita*, according to the view of the Commentator, at least in theory, should be regarded as the regular accent¹. According to the examples given by Weber (Vājas. Specimen II, p. 9.) this mode of accentuation exists, however, not merely in theory, but is found actually carried out in the MSS of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The second case is of course inconceivable in the case of Greek which knows no semi-vowels, the third is regarded as a case of *krasis*, but never produces—so little also is Greek grammar clearly settled as to its treatment—the circumflex. There is thus, however, although without doubt both these accents have the same origin, a complete difference in their application in the usage of the languages of the two peoples in which that which is original and that which is derived appear apportioned to both sides.

III. The Indian *Svarita* is thus found in the following cases:—

1. (Under *a*) When two short *i*'s, the final accented, the initial unaccented, coalesce, the long resulting vowel receives the *Svarita*,, e.g., अ॒भि इ॒न्ध॒ताम् अ॒भीन्ध॒ताम् (*abhi-indhatām*, *abhīndhatām*).²

It is called *praśliṣṭa* (also *prāśliṣṭa* and *prākśliṣṭa*) "that which rests on the swallowed-up combination of vowels" (*praśliṣṭa*: *sandhi*;) I Pr. 3, 7, 10—II Pr. I, 117, 4, 133. Māṇḍ. 7, 4—Śaun. 3, 3. But if one of the two *i*'s is long the general law to be given below for the *krasis* is observed, e.g., म॒ही इ॒यम्, म॒हीय॒म् *mahī iyam mahīyam*³.

2. (Under *b*) When an accented *i* or *ū* before an unaccented heterogeneous vowel passes into the semi-vowel

¹ I Prāt 3. 8. मा॒ण्डूके॒यस्य स॒र्वेषु प्र॒क्षि॒ष्टेषु त॒था स्मरेत् Uvata त॒था स्मरेत् । न क॒र्यात् ।

² For the notation of the accents see below.

³ As an exception to this rule the participle वी॒क्षित from वि इक्षित (*vi-ikṣita*) is quoted II Prāt. 4, 135. The third Prātīkhyā says nothing of the *i* vowels and gives the rules for the *u* vowels only, without making any further distinction as to their length 2, 8. Cf. the quite vague rule in Pāṇ. VIII, 2, 6.

y or *v*, the syllable formed by this union (*sāndhyam akṣaram*) receives the *svārīta* :—

(a) In the body of a word, e.g., तन्वे *tanve* from *tanu* with the dative suffix *e*. From the same point of view are to be regarded also those words which do not receive the *Svarīta* only on inflection, but have it already on account of their etymological formation, e.g., धान्यम्, *dhānyam* for *dhāni-am*. This is the only case in which the *Svarīta* appears in the word and it is, therefore, called, in contrast to that which arises through combinations of words the *jātya*, the original generic *Svarīta*, II Pr. 1, 112. Māṇḍ. 7, 5. Śaun. 3, 3, or *nītya*, the abiding, the necessary, III Pr. 2, 8.

(β) In the case of the coming together of two words in *Sandhi*, e.g., नु, इन्द्र; न्विन्द्र (*nu indra : nvindra*). This union of two vowels, through the liquidization of the first is called the “*flving*” *sandhi* (*kṣīpra : sandhi*;) probably from the sliding of the voice over the semi-vowel to the initial vowel of the following word. The *Svarīta* which rests upon the combination received from this *sandhi* the name *kṣīpra*, I Pr. 3, 7, 10. II Pr. 1, 116, III Pr. 2, 8. Māṇḍ. 7, 6. Śaun. 3, 3.

3. (Under *c*) When, after an accented *e* or *o* an unaccented short *a*—as also Indian grammar says—is *elided*, the *Svarīta* stands upon the *e* or *o*, e.g., ते, अवन्तु; तेवन्तु (*te avantu, tévantu*)¹.

It is called, like the *Sandhi* to which it owes its origin, *abhinihita*.

¹ The apostrophe mark, which we find employed in the MSS of later books and in present editions did not serve originally as a mark of elision. Any kind of sign separating the words would have been here quite out of place and would have been opposed to the sentiment of the living language. The Greek theatre laughed at the grammatical actor who said ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐ γαλήν—ορω instead of γαλή—νορω. The mark of apostrophe now current serves in the Vedic MSS rather another and double purpose. In the first place it stands in the Saṁhitā MSS between two words which occur together in a *hiatus* (*vivratī*); in the second place, in the Pada MSS, to separate the members of the compound words (as the mark of *avagraha*). In both cases it indicates the interval during which the voice has to be arrested at the place when it occurs, the interval of *one beat* and is originally nothing else than the numeral sign for *one*.

IV. The occurrence of this *Svarita* is, as can be easily seen, extremely limited. Only rarely could the conditions of the three-fold union of vowels occur, from which it results as a secondary accent; and it would be a thing in itself inconceivable that any single language should possess as a regular system of marking change of accent one of which it makes so rare a use as Sanskrit does of the above described *Svarita*. Thus the *Svarita* occurs also in cases outside these and indeed apparently as serving an entirely different end. In every polysyllabic word, which is not an oxytone, so runs the rule, *the syllable following the high tone has the Svarita*. The same rule applies in the sentence to the unaccented initial syllable of a word following an oxytone, *i. e.*, a simply unaccented syllable can never, in any case, follow an acute syllable; since it is the law of cadence as we see from this, that the tone raised to the height of the Udātta should not fall with a sudden descent to the natural level of the voice, but be lowered through the mediation of an intermediate tone.

This is the part played by the *Svarita* when it occurs immediately after the Udātta, in which case I would call it the *enclitic Svarita*, as contrasted with the *independent Svarita* above explained. The tone-value of both is, however, essentially the same. Both are weakened acute accents and it has occurred to the grammarians, to whom we are indebted for the Prātiśākhya, just as little as to Pāṇini, to mark by a distinctive designation these two kinds of *Svarita*, which are so distinct in their origin. Only the first Prātiśākhya gives for the various grades of the *independent Svarita* the comprehensive name *jātya* with which the other Prātiśākyas designate only a sub-division (see *a* above) without, however, anywhere naming the enclitic; a gap which the Commentator fills up with the name *prakṛta*. On the other hand, these grammarians have, with a quite useless subtlety, discovered even subordinate classes of the *enclitic Svarita*, which may be given here for the sake of completeness. Three, and according to circumstances, four modifications of it, are distinguished:—

1. The *tairovyanjana*, which is separated from its Udātta syllable standing in the same word by one or more consonants.

2. The *tairovirāma* occurring under the same conditions, only that the *Udātta* falls on the last syllable of the preceding word¹.

3. The *pādavṛtta*, the *Svarita* on the initial syllable of the second word after a hiatus².

4. According to some, the *tāthābhāvya*, i. e., the *Svarita* which stands, under certain definite limitations, between two accented syllables, which will be treated of more fully immediately, cf. II Prāt. 1, 118-121. III Pr. 2, 8. Māṇḍ. Śikṣā 7, 7-10. Śaun. 3, 3.

A reminiscence of a difference in the origin of the *Svaritas* is found further in this that the one class are more sharply (*tīkṣṇa*), the other more softly (*mṛdu*) accented, and in fact all the *independent Svaritas* are always sharper than the *enclitic Svaritas*. The order which the second *Prātiśākhya* assigns to the individual kinds is this: 1. *Abhinihita*, 2. *Kṣaipra* and *jātya*, 3. *Praśliṣṭa*, 4. *Tairovyanyana*, 5. *Tairovirāma*, 6. *Pādavṛtta*, 7. *Tāthābhāvya*. The third *Prātiśākhya* arranges them on the other hand 2, 1, 3, 5, 4, 6. Verses in Śaunakīya and Uvaṭa's gloss give the order 1, 3, 2, 4, 6 (5 and 7 are not mentioned).

If now this *enclitic Svarita* like the *Anudātta* is shut up by the law of melody into the domain of the dominant in the word, viz., the high tone; the latter so that it must precede the high tone, the former, so that it must follow the high tone, when two accent spheres intersect and there is room for only one of the two dependent tones, either for that which succeeds the first or that which precedes the second, in this case there arises the question which of the two is to prevail. In other words, when between two acute syllables an unaccented syllable occurs, has it the *enclitic Svarita* or the lowered tone?

The more natural answer would be that, as in the whole theory of vowels the component which follows is the stronger, the grave accent preceding a following acute accent should set aside the *Svarita* of the first acute syllable. And so the *Prātiśākhyas* teach, with one accord, the first of the

¹ Third *Prātiśākhya* calls it *pratihata*.

² The *tairovyanyana* is curiously enough assigned on this account to the word *prā uga* III Pr. 2, 8.

Prātishākyas with the express observation that this law is universally acknowledged (3, 12. *niyukta tū 'dātta-svarito-dayam*).

According to Pāṇini, on the other hand (VIII, 4, 67) the grammarians Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava would have set the Svarita in this place and it might seem all the more remarkable that the Prātishākyas make no mention of this diversity of view that the first of them is acquainted with Gārgya, the second with both Gārgya and Kāśyapa. It appears, however, that we have here in Pāṇini an inexact rule which has been made entirely incorrect through its being misunderstood by his interpreters.

The second Prātishākya gives a most complete explanation on this point. In the passage in which the names of the different kinds of *Svaritas* are treated of, it has the aphorism: (1, 121): उदाद्यन्तो न्यग्रहस्ताथा-भाव्यः which may be more clearly reproduced thus: "the unaccented final syllable of an *avagraha*¹, which is preceded or followed by an accented syllable, has the *Svarita* which is called *tāthābhāvya*". Now, in a later section, the rule is laid down with respect to the mutual influence of the accents (4, 136) that, instead of the enclitic *Svarita* the low tone occurs before a following *Udātta* or *Svarita* while (137) *anavagrahe* "in separated compounds the *Svarita* maintains its place", *e. g.* तनूनपादिति तनू ऽनपात्.

The Commentator, who had perhaps Pāṇini's rule in his mind, adds, on his own authority, that this is the view of individual teachers, and quotes, in support of the opposite view, the dictum of the Aujjihāyanaka who, in this follow the Mādhyandina School.

अवग्रहो यदा नीच उच्चयोर्मध्यतः कश्चित् ।

ताथाभाव्यो भवेत्कम्पस्तनूननप्रे निदर्शनम् ॥

He appears, however, to be in error in regard to both the grammars; so far as the Mādhyandina are concerned, since the above quoted clear statements are taken from their grammatical text-book;—and so far as the Aujjihāyanaka are concerned since also they appear to have understood by

¹ *Avagraha* means the first member of a compound (*saṁāsa*) separated in the manner of the Pāda text. The word has this meaning besides that above quoted.

the *kampa* not a deeper tone than the *anudātta* (*kampanā nīśād api nīśatvam* as the Commentator understands it) but only a lowering in general of the tone. This appears from the Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā 7, 10, where the same verse occurs almost word for word in the enumeration of the *Svaritas* and makes use of the same expression *kampa*, so that we are to understand it thus:—"the *Svarita* which constitutes the lowering of the tone between two *Udāttas*, etc., is called *tāthābhāvyā*." One can see from this how carefully we must proceed in our use of Indian Commentaries even on grammatical subjects in which we must still concede to them the greatest authority; how much more carefully, in things historical.

In order to make Pāṇini's rule complete, we should thus have only to add *avāgrāhe*; and also from among the names of the grammarians whom he instances, at least that of Gārgya is favourable to the interpretation given above of this *Svarita* as an accent peculiar to the Pāda texts. Gārgya is, according to the statement of Durga (Nirukta IV, 4,) the author of the Pāda text to the Sāmaveda as Śākalya is the author of that of the Rigveda.

V. The Accent Marks.

The Prātiśākhya give us no information as to the mode of writing the accents laid down by them. The second Prātiśākhya gives, however, some rules which are to be understood to apply at least in part to the writing of the accents:

सत सामसु । त्रीन् । द्वौ । एकम् । सामजंपन्युखवर्जम् । प्रावचनो ।
वा यजुषि ॥ 128—133.

"Seven accents are assumed in the Sāmas; or three or two; or one (in the sacrificial formulae) with the exception of the Sāma, Japa¹, and Nyūnkha². In the Yajus the accent of ordinary speech (instead of the monotone of the formula) can also be employed." By the seven accents of the Sāmas the Scholiast understands the seven notes of the Indian musical scale. Others refer the number, as he says, to the seven subordinate classes of the *Svarita*.

1. Aśval. Śrauta 1, 2. Pān. I, 2, 34.

2. Examples of the Nyūnkha and the rules regarding it are found in Aśval Śhr. VII. 11.

Thus Uvaṭa, as well as those other interpreters, like the inhabitants of a Brahmanical village in South India who all, as an eye-witness has also assured me, read nothing Vedic except the Yajus, seem never to have seen the Sāmaveda. Since by the seven accents of the Sāmas, nothing else can be understood than the seven-fold designation of the modifications of accent as we still find them in the MSS of the Sāmaveda, where, in addition to the unmarked prachaya-syllable the *Udātta* is marked by (१) three kinds of *Svarita* by (ऽ, ऽउ, ऽर) and two modifications of the *Anudātta* (ऽ, ऽक,)¹. When further only two accents are mentioned, this might refer either to that species of reciting particular invocations called Subrahmanya, in which the Svarita is pronounced as Udātta (Pāṇ. I.2, 37) or more probably to the accentuation of the Brāhmaṇa of the Yajurveda. Uvaṭa holds the latter view in the passage in question. Only he states, strange to say, that the two accents of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are meant, namely the *Udātta* and *Anudātta*, while the MSS marks the Udātta as well as the Svarita. Of course they do this with the same sign, marking the Udātta with the horizontal stroke under the syllable, the Svarita with the same stroke under the preceding syllable, as for example मनुहेतम् । In order to be exact, therefore, our rule must be understood only with reference to the mode of writing the accents².

The simplest, most common and most ingenious mode of marking the accents is that which makes use of two marks, a vertical stroke above the line to indicate the Svarita, and a horizontal stroke under the line to mark the Anudātta (in the narrower sense explained above). This mode of writing we must regard as without doubt the normal mode; it runs through all the books which are reckoned as belonging to the Rīgveda, with insignificant additions through the MSS

1. Cf. Benfey in Haller A.L.Z. 1845 pp. 909 ff.

1. Weber. (Vāj. Spec. II. p. 6) in order to reach uniformity in the accent marks regards the stroke under the Udātta syllable, as the mark of the following enclitic Svarita. This explanation is, perhaps, only too ingenious and might be open to the objection that this enclitic Svarita is just as often wanting. Under the influence of that desire on the part of Indian scholars which shewed itself very early to produce something peculiar, the process may have been this that it was only intended to mark the two positive accents with one sign and thus with the least possible expenditure of appliances. This striving after originality has, of course, here, as elsewhere, only conduced to the bringing about of confusion.

of the Vājasaneyā and perhaps also the Taittiriya Saṁhitā¹ and finally through the copies of the Atharvaveda. The latter shew, it is true, this variation that, instead of marking the Svarita above the line they place a horizontal stroke in the syllable, or also as in the case of the London MSS employ points instead of strokes in the same manner; in all other respects, however, the system is absolutely identical with the mode of writing the accents in the Rīgveda.

Svarita and Anudātta are always marked. Unaccented syllables in the beginning of a sentence, as also in the separated words of the Pāda texts, fall under the head of Anudātta.

The Udātta and Prachaya remain unmarked, but they are recognisable among the adjacent accents in virtue of the rhythmic law of the succession of Anudātta, Udātta and Svarita. This system, moreover, secures the greatest possible accuracy by indicating the accented syllable by a double marking and thus for the most part itself provides for the correction of errors. This is worthy of being placed side by side with the Indian alphabet.

Remarks. The १ numbers ३ used as aids to the writing of the accent are still to be mentioned in this connection. According to the definition quoted under II, a lowering of the tone takes place in the second half of the Svarita, when it is followed by Udātta or another Svarita. The Svarita which thus divides itself can, of course, be only the *independent Svarita*.

The placing of two distinct accents on one syllable, which would, in this case, be necessary in order to indicate this lowering of the tone, seems to have been held to be inadmissible, and so the following device was hit upon:—

(a) When the vowel of the Svarita syllable is short, the number ३ is placed after it and is provided at the same time with the marks of both the Svarita and the Anudātta: the preceding syllable, if the word is one of more than one syllable, has Anudātta, e. g., उर्व३न्तरिक्षम्.

1. The only copy of this book which I have been able to see, perhaps the only one in Europe, is without accents because it is entirely modern and has been prepared probably in the first instance for Europeans. Independently of this, what I have said above I infer from the third Prātiśākyā.

(b) When the vowel of the Svarita syllable is long, the number ३ is placed after it with the same marks as in the preceding case when १ is employed: the Svarita syllable itself has Anudātta, and the preceding syllable likewise when the word is polysyllabic., *e.g.*, वी३दम्, समी३के३
भी३तिम् ।

This is the mode of marking followed in the careful MSS of the Samhitā of the R̥gveda, and of the Nirukta, but it is not everywhere observed with uniform accuracy. From the statements with which I have, up till now, become acquainted on the subject of accents and their marks, I do not yet feel myself in a position to give a complete explanation of this manner of writing.

VI. *The coming together of accents and the accent in the sentence.*

The result of the meeting of two accents in Sandhi can, with the exception of the Svarita cases quoted under III, be summed up briefly, following the second Prātiśākhya IV, 131, 132 in the two sentences:—

स्वरितवौ (एकीभावः) स्वरितः । उदात्तवानुदात्तः ।

Where the Sandhi syllable has taken a Svarita it receives Svarita (of course with the restriction which lies on what follows, *viz.*, if the other member of the compound is not Udātta) when it contains an Udātta, this accent remains, *e.g.*,

प॒थ्या इ॒व प॒थ्ये॒व; म॒नु॒ष्या, आ, द॒दी॒महि, म॒नु॒ष्या द॒दी॒महि;
नि, असी॑दत्, न्यसी॑दत्; मा नः अहि॑र्बुध्न्यः मा नोहि॑र्बुध्न्यः;

Two unaccented syllables coalescing produce naturally one unaccented syllable.

The enclitic Svarita, as is easily understood, cannot come into consideration in connection with all these changes since it is connected, not with a particular syllable, but only with a preceding acute accent. The independent Svarita, however, shews itself everywhere weaker than the acute accent and proves thus completely how considerably it differs from the Greek circumflex.

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